

JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

VOLUME
VII

JULY-SEPTEMBER
1923

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION \$7.50

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY BY THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY
AND UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Editorial Notes

World Notes

Gandhi and the Indian National

CLARENCE M. CASE

Social Possibilities of the Village

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Repression and Problems of the Peasant

IVA L. FELTEN

The Juvenile Court as a Social Laboratory

MIRIAM VAN WATERS

Social Attitudes of Chinese Immigrants

NORA STERRY

Constructive Group Control

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

Book Notes

Development of Social Theory

Social Psychology: Growth

Education and Training for Social

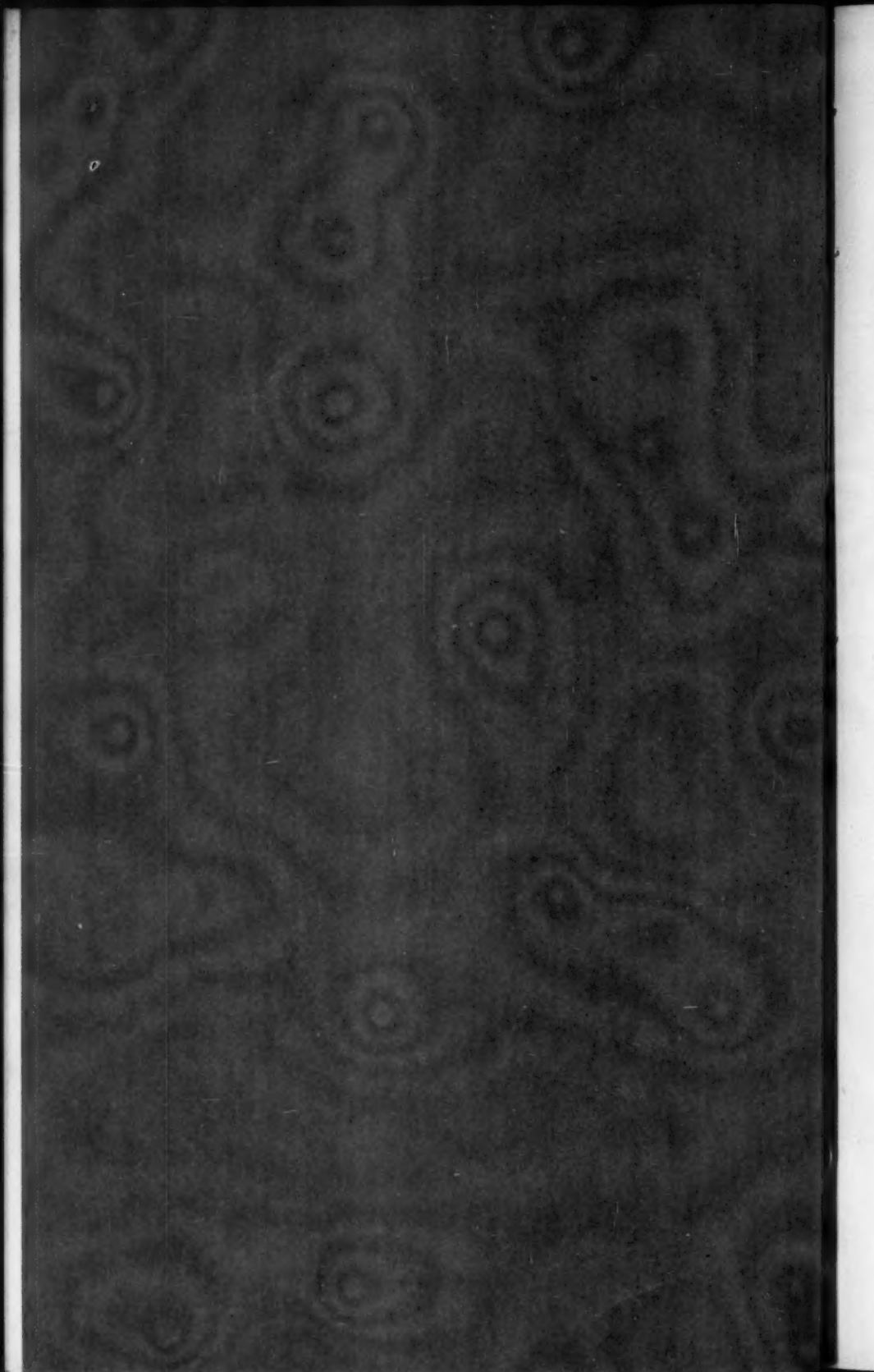
Survey of Contemporary Subjects

Adventures of Social Workers

The Hobos: Anderson

Periodical Notes

Index to Volume VII



Journal of Applied Sociology

Volume VII

July-August, 1923

Number 6

Entered as second class matter March 29, 1922 at the post office at Los Angeles, Cal., under the Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of Postage provided for in sec. 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized April 11, 1922.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS, *Editor*

WILLIAM C. SMITH, *Managing Editor*

Associate Editors

CLARENCE E. RAINWATER

MELVIN J. VINCENT

MARY B. KELLOGG

} *University of Southern California*

Co-operating Editors

FRANK W. BLACKMAR . . .	<i>University of Kansas</i>
ERNEST W. BURGESS . . .	<i>University of Chicago</i>
CLARENCE M. CASE . . .	<i>University of Iowa</i>
F. STUART CHAPIN . . .	<i>University of Minnesota</i>
CHARLES H. COOLEY . . .	<i>University of Michigan</i>
JAMES Q. DEALEY . . .	<i>Brown University</i>
LUCILE EAVES . . .	<i>Simmons College</i>
CHARLES A. ELLWOOD . . .	<i>University of Missouri</i>
FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS . . .	<i>Columbia University</i>
EDWARD C. HAYES . . .	<i>University of Illinois</i>
GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD . . .	<i>University of Nebraska</i>
JAMES P. LICHTENBERGER . . .	<i>University of Pennsylvania</i>
IVA L. PETERS . . .	<i>Goucher College</i>
EDWARD A. ROSS . . .	<i>University of Wisconsin</i>
ALBION W. SMALL . . .	<i>University of Chicago</i>
JESSE F. STEINER . . .	<i>University of North Carolina</i>

Editorial Notes

SOCIOLOGY COURSES in high schools are noticeably on the increase. In a recent study by Harry H. Moore it is shown that 29 per cent of 6,624 schools reporting were teaching sociology courses in 1921-22 as compared with 5 to 8 per cent in 1918-19. The enrollment in sociology courses in the "29 per cent" was 37,541 pupils.

"A SAVING WAGE" is a better slogan than A Living Wage. If a man cannot earn more than enough to live on he soon becomes dissatisfied with his employers and with the economic system of which he is a part. If he can save, then his sense of independence is appeased and he is willing to accept many minor injustices for the time being.

DR. CLARENCE M. CASE, chairman of the Department of Sociology, State University of Iowa, and author of *Non-Violent Coercion* (Century, 1923) has been elected professor of sociology at the University of Southern California, where he will develop courses in advanced subjects such as "Social Values" and "Social Progress."

THE DECISION of the United States Steel Corporation to eliminate the twelve hour day is distinctly encouraging. Other large steel companies in this country have found the eight hour day feasible. In all leading Christian countries the twelve hour day is authentically reported (by A. W. Taylor) as abandoned in behalf of the more humane eight hour day.

WHEN THE governor of New York made effective the repeal of the state prohibition enforcement law he caused all the forces of evil in the land to rejoice. Bootleggers, dive-keepers, immoral women, all the anti-social elements, were made happy. The governor's unfortunate decision, however, will put new life into the movement to support President Harding in his favorable attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

THE ORGANIZATION of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology occurred recently at Cleveland and represents a forward movement that is deserving of wide support. The leaders in the movement are David Snedden, Frederick R. Clow, Walter L. Smith, Ross L. Finney, and C. C. Peters. It is to be hoped that the new organization will not be satisfied with "social" concepts but will be grounded upon sociological principles.

THERE IS NOW in process of formation The National Federation of Uncle Sam's Voters, which is a non-profit organization for the purpose of awakening and sustaining a lively and intelligent interest in all local, state, national and international questions. In order to stimulate popular participation in governmental affairs, local assemblies—patterned after the New England town meeting—will be organized everywhere, enabling citizens of the community to discuss their political, social, and economic problems. This organization is not bound to any political party nor to any "movement" or "cause." It has no propaganda to preach. Its sole purpose is to provide citizens everywhere with the means for meeting and discussing their problems. It will endeavor to enlighten and encourage young men and women approaching voting age and aliens eligible for citizenship.

World Notes

THE EUROPEANIZATION of the world has lost its momentum. The World War augmented the spirit of nationalism in nearly all countries with the result that India, Turkey, Egypt, the Philippines, the South American republics, as well as China and Japan, are asking, if not demanding, autonomy regarding changes in their cultures and traditions.

THE OPIUM COMMITTEE of the League of Nations has reported against the raising of poppies except for scientific and medicinal purposes throughout the world. Although this report makes exemptions in favor of those countries profiting pecuniarily by the production of opium, yet the whole procedure is an augury of the day when problems of world concern will be settled by world convictions.

IN GERMANY the children are being taught to hate France and are growing up with ideas of revenge. The children of France are also being taught to fear and hate Germany, and thus the seeds of new wars are being sown. The problem is one that neither France nor Germany can solve alone. It calls for a world procedure. National educational systems are like wise helpless; a world educational program is needed.

AN AMERICAN correspondent from Chita, Russia, writes: "There are only three other foreigners in this city of 135,000 or more people. We have a Red Flag flying over us. Business is going on in a normal way, and the people as a whole seem satisfied with conditions. The soviets have two worthy aims in (a) securing education and (b) emphasizing the welfare of children. Ignorance, lack of sanitation, and filth abound."

"TURKEY GOES DRY" is an unexpected movement. With prohibition already in effect in Anatolia and soon to be applied in Constantinople there is evidence that the fight against alcoholic liquor is "encircling our planet." In this connection the *Living Age* asserts that Turkey's determination to prohibit the liquor traffic in her land is one of "the obstacles to a speedier settlement of diplomatic difficulties between France and that country."

THE STRUGGLE in the Ruhr Valley between passive resistance on one hand and military control on the other hand has surprised the world as a large scale form of international conflict. The French military authorities have been baffled in the same way that the English military leaders have been nonplussed in dealing with the followers of Gandhi. Moreover, it is unique that in the erstwhile leading military nation of the world there should develop a widespread national movement of passive resistance.

THE PRESENCE of 7,494 foreign students enrolled in the institutions of higher learning in the United States for the year 1922-23, according to a report of the Institute of International Education, is a hopeful sign regarding the development of a world community of spirit. The following countries led in the enrollment: China, 1491 students; Canada, 827; Japan, 658; the Philippines, 649; Russia, 327; Mexico, 232; Porto Rico, 224; India, 218. The following subjects led: liberal arts, 2224 students; engineering, 1382; commerce, 477; medicine, 468; theology, 360; agriculture, 311.

OF GANDHI it is said that he "commands a greater voluntary personal following than any man in the world in this generation" (Sherwood Eddy, *Christian Century*, XXXV: 489). He seems to have achieved this position not because he is a Hindu but because he has become the leader of a "non-violent, non-cooperation" movement among millions of people who feel themselves to be victims of political and social injustice. Although they may be far from ready for democratic self-rule, their feelings have become aroused, even more perhaps, by the knowledge of their leader's imprisonment than by any other single fact.

WORLD PEACE is greatly menaced by the rise of chemical warfare. It is not possible to build dreadnaughts and keep them hidden, but with chemicals the situation is different. The strategy of war consists in part in surprising the "enemy." It is now becoming possible to "disarm" in the traditional sense, and still be manufacturing new and deadly gases (if the chemical resources are available) which coupled with chemical warfare technique, would enable a nation to declare war and wipe out an antagonistic nation in a comparatively few hours. The problem is one for world conferences to consider. It is educational, involving the subordination of hyper-nationalism to a sane international spirit in all lands.

GANDHI AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL MIND

A Fragment and a Suggestion

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

Department of Sociology, State University of Iowa

IT WOULD BE interesting to attempt an analysis of the facts of recent Indian history by applying the illuminating method developed by Professor Thomas in the Methodological Note which precedes the first volume of *The Polish Peasant*.¹ His formula, as will be recalled, is that a *new attitude* is to be explained in terms of a *social value*, or values, acting upon a *previous attitude* of the individual. On the other hand, *new social values* emerge through the action of individual *attitudes* upon *pre-existing social values*.

While it lies beyond the scope of this paper to attempt such an analysis, the following fragmentary statement suggests that if one were in possession of adequate biographical, social, and historical information with respect to Indian life a fruitful application of the method referred to could be made to the present situation in India.

Even in the mere sketch given below one sees, on the side of *social values*, the ancient and splendid culture of India side by side with the powerful and more materialistic Anglo-Saxon civilization of the dominant Britisher. Both of these are of course extremely complex, and they contain within themselves many more or less complex component values. Among these one finds such subjects of interest

¹*The Polish Peasant in Europe and in America*, by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki.

as taboos affecting diet, dress, and conduct; elaborate systems of social and racial avoidance and contact, including not only such rigid structures and rituals as the native cults and castes, but also the bureaucratic and militaristic establishments of the dominating intruder; and, over and above all such immaterial creations, there stand of course all the objective, non-human elements of the various conflicting cultures represented in the material works of man. Along with these social values one catches in our hasty picture glimpses of such emotional and sentimental *attitudes* as religious asceticism and non-resistance, reverence and renunciation, dominance and submission, arrogance and servility, racial pride and humiliation, timidity and self-reliance, particularly as affected by military training and experience; or again of mingled detestation and admiration of the white foreigner, passing into exultation, hope, and courage at the knowledge of his defeat in Siberia by a colored Asiatic race; finally of political ambition and longing for self-determination, along with a new appraisal of the native Indian heritage—all this, and more, gives us even through this small window glimpses of a social situation immensely rich in materials for socio-psychological analysis. And for it all Mohandas K. Gandhi, that strange combination of Hindu high-caste man, learned and British-trained barrister, orator and man of public affairs, devotee of religion and philosophy, emaciated ascetic, fearless prophet, long-suffering and non-violent asserter of truth and “soul-force,” and world-famous leader of a profound but bloodless revolution—this extraordinary “symbol of the soul of the East” seems at the present time to give to this swirling situation its most significant single personal expression.

For the extraordinary leadership of Mohandas K. Gandhi in South Africa and India is due not merely to the fact that the times were ripe for such leadership, but also to

his profound and sympathetic comprehension of the mind of his fellow-countrymen. He frankly declared in a public address, in 1916, that India is "a country of nonsense," and he proved it by reference to those "untouchable" castes which nonsensical religious distinctions perpetuate there. His very asceticism no doubt appeals to the Hindu mind,—with his frequent fasting; his doctrine that "those who want to have a glimpse of the real religious life must lead a celibate life no matter if married or unmarried;"² and his contempt for all worldly comforts and honors.

Not only does Gandhi practice those acts of religion which are so transcendently important in the land that addresses him as *Mahatma*, or *Saint*, but he places the stamp of his profoundest approval upon them in principle. "Swaraj" (self-rule) he declares, "can only be built upon the assumption that most of what is national is on the whole sound."³ These words were uttered during the course of an address on "Swadeshi," which has been too narrowly understood in the West. The term signifies not merely a movement to restore the ancient hand-spinning and weaving industry by a boycott of British and other foreign goods in favor of homespun, although this is its central plank. It includes much more, and represents a nationalistic re-birth, a true Renaissance of India, as fundamental as the Gaelic movement in Ireland.

One expression of this new nationalism is the demand, to which Gandhi has given frequent and eloquent utterance, for the elevation of some native tongue, preferably Hindi, to the position of a common, national language. Thus we have him saying, in a speech at the opening of the Benares Hindu University, in 1916, "I want to say it is a matter of deep humiliation and shame for us that I am compelled this evening under the shadow of this great

² "Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi," Madras, 1918, p. 289.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

college, in this sacred city, to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me."⁴ The evil in this situation he has fully explained on various occasions, notably in his Presidential address, in 1917, before the Gujarat Educational Conference. The evil consists essentially, in Gandhi's opinion, in the fact that its use in connection with higher education creates a chasm between the educated class and the masses of their fellow-countrymen. This line of separation runs even through the home and the family circle. "At present," he points out, "we are unable to make our wives co-partners with us. They know little of our activities. Our parents do not know what we learn. . . . We cannot reproduce before the family circle what we have learnt through the English language."⁵

The situation in India at the time of Gandhi's return in 1914 was ripe for the kind of leadership he was peculiarly qualified to offer. Nothing stands out more clearly in his South African experiences, then just completed, than his desire and ability to arouse the latent self-respect of his socially subordinated fellow-countrymen. And we are not limited to his testimony for proof that the present revolution in India is nothing less than the spiritual rebirth of a long submerged nation. Thus Mr. S. E. Stokes, an American long resident in India, speaks, in his book on "National Self-Realization," of his own efforts to organize the natives of a backward district for passive resistance against a tax held to be unjust. He finds a marked moral effect resulting from this common stand maintained under peril, and experience of suffering. "Before we made the effort," he declares, "they were dull, hopeless and cringing; now they are beginning to think that life may be worth living after all, and I find a new energy and the first signs of an awakening manliness in them."⁶ Likewise,

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 219, 325 ff.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁶"National Self-Realization," by S. E. Stokes, Part II, p. 62. Madras, 1921.

Mrs. Besant, in a "farewell" address just before her internment by the British in 1917, said, "My real crime is that I have awakened the national self-respect, which was asleep, and have made thousands of educated men feel that to be content with being a 'subject race' is a dishonor."

These two writers,—both Anglo-Saxons by nativity but Indians by adoption, both endowed with great ability, and intimately conversant for long years with public affairs in India,—have portrayed in firm lines both the causes and the nature of this new temper on the part of the people. For example, Mrs. Besant, in her Presidential address before the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, in 1917, expounds at great length the causes of what she calls "the new spirit" in India. Among these causes she finds a "loss of belief in the superiority of the white races," produced primarily by Japan's victory over Russia; the World War with its ghastly exhibition of "science turned into deviltry;" and widespread discontent with British financial and industrial rule on the part of the merchants of India. This loss of English prestige was further aggravated, as the same authority shows elsewhere, by the Arms Act, denying even men of position and education the fundamental English right of bearing arms. On this disability she quotes an English journal as admitting that it "carries with it such a sense of humiliation, helplessness and self-contempt, that before it all other blessings dwindle into insignificance." Along with this went such further affronts as the rejection of Indian volunteers from the educated classes, at the same time that the small, but readily mobilized, territorial regular army of India was the very first of all foreign troops to come to the rescue of the British forces in France—a service which had been recognized by both Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford.⁸

⁷"*Speeches and Writings of Annie Besant*," Third Edition, p. 287. Madras, 1921.

⁸"*Speeches and Writings*," pp. 322, 325, 273, 294, 306, 309.

Mr. Stokes not only corroborates this line of evidence with the additional instance of Indians excluded from settling in East Africa and elsewhere, yet called at the same time to fight for the Empire far and wide. Going further, he analyzes the effect upon the Indian mind of the "whipping" and other evidences of "racial contempt" inflicted by the British upon the Indian people. While even more direful for the peace of India is the fact that the English in India, at least the bureaucracy and its minions, "openly insult Indians by exultingly alluding to the successful administration of 'doses of Dyer-mixture.' " Finally, the Indian people, all "intensely conscious of her present fallen state," were not reassured by the drastic search measures carried out in the Punjab at the close of the War, and the whole tense situation culminated in the atrocity of Amritsar.⁹

Gandhi has frequently declared that passive resistance is a weapon fit only for the "strongest minded," although he prefers to call it *Satyagraha*, which means the assertion of truth.¹⁰ At heart it is identical with the Quaker "testimony" and "concern." Its close relation to courage is clearly present in the thought and teaching of Gandhi. So one finds him exhorting his hearers to emancipate themselves from their inner bondage. "I found, throughout my wanderings in India," he testifies, "that India, educated India, is seized with a paralyzing fear." No one, he laments, dares to express his honest opinions in public or private, and yet, "in the *Bhagavad Gita*, fearlessness is declared as the first essential quality of a Brahmin." On another occasion he quotes Lord Willingdon, who had advised a Bombay audience "to cultivate a fearless spirit." And it was doubtless with the same thought that he advocated enlistment in the army, whereby "we learn to defend

⁹Stokes, op. cit., pp. 38-39, 49, 4, 45.

¹⁰"Speeches and Writings," pp. 422, 361, *passim*.

India and to a certain extent regain our lost manhood."¹¹

Gandhi seems indeed to be upon such sure ground when appealing to Indian audiences that he challenges them boldly, but always with consummate tact and persuasiveness, upon matters both sublime and seemingly trivial. Thus he chides the people for their unsanitary habits—rubbish in the streets and temples, careless expectoration, and swarms of flies—assuring them that a demonstration of their ability to handle these local problems will be a long stride toward the *Swaraj* (self-rule) which they so ardently desire.

Some of the grossest superstitions of the Hindu religious and social tradition come in for their share of criticism from this revered leader who embodies so appealingly the aspirations which India consciously cherishes that he can tell her plainly without offense the things that she *ought to want*. Foremost among these is that cruel institution of the "untouchable" castes. In 1915, at the town of Mayavaram, in replying to an "address" presented him by its citizens, Mr. Gandhi said: "In so far as I have been able to study Hinduism outside India, I have felt that it is no part of real Hinduism to have in its hold a mass of people whom I would call 'untouchables.' If it was proved to me that this is an essential part of Hinduism, I for one would declare myself an open rebel against Hinduism itself." Yet this bold and radical indictment was greeted with cries of Hear! Hear! On other occasions he refers to it as "an ineffaceable blot," and a "miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit."¹² In his own paper, *Young India*, Mr. Gandhi wrote on Sept. 22, 1921, that "there seems to be a lurking thought with many of us, that we can gain *Swaraj* and keep untouchability." Again, a week later, he says, "I have told them at all their huge meetings in no uncertain terms, that there can be no *Swaraj* without the removal of the

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 235, 293, 412.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 207, 293, 353.

curse from our midst." Along with this he is firmly set against "the shackles of child-marriages," and declares that an enlightened people "would shudder even to think" of "imposing the burden of motherhood upon a girl of twelve or fifteen."¹³

Mahatma Gandhi is in fact "a symbol of the soul of the East," and it is probably true largely because he is, as an English writer puts it, "a new type of Indian holy man" who "has thrown himself into the work of social and political reform, instead of holding himself aloof from the practical affairs of life, as was the way of the old ascetics."¹⁴ The writer last quoted, himself a resident of India, and scores of others, attribute his power to his saintly character and self-sacrificing life. In the words of the poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore, it lies in "his dynamic spiritual strength and incessant self-sacrifice."¹⁵ Perhaps nothing could appeal more potently to the Indian national temperament. This is well exemplified in a now widely circulated story of a wealthy Hindu lady, who ventured to wear her jewels to one of Gandhi's meetings, after her husband had warned her to leave them at home. Upon her return without them she confessed, "I offered my precious necklace at the lotus feet of Mahatma Gandhi for the great cause of India's independence."

Rich and poor, high and low, obscure and illustrious—all are represented among the adherents of this astonishing, non-violent revolution. Among them we mention here only one, the distinguished Indian poetess and orator, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Says this eloquent coadjutor: "There are times in the history of nations as of individuals, when the customary law of caution, of order, of reverence for constituted authority must fail before the inspiration and

¹³"*Speeches and Writings*," p. 337.

¹⁴The United Free Church *Record*, Nov. 1921.

¹⁵Quoted by B. K. Ray in *New York American*, May 8, 1921.

the impulse and the intuition of the moment's demand." In her opinion the whole of Indian civilization is based upon "renunciation," taught by Buddha as his supreme message, and "found embodied in Mahatma Gandhi." Referring to the Government's oppressive measures to suppress "anarchy" she asks, "But what is anarchy except the gift of Europe to India disrupted by the European Government?" On the other hand, she held that in disobeying the laws of that government the Indian people "are exercising that self-determination of which the Peace Conference has said so much." In pressing home her impassioned appeal in support of the great spiritual movement and its revered leader, Mrs. Naidu appeals to her hearers as "sons and daughters of religion, dedicated to truth;" as "true children of the East, patient in courage, enduring to the end, forgiving to the end, therefore triumphant in the end;" and as "true stewards and guardians of the truth."¹⁰ The frequent cheers which greeted these utterances give proof that the gifted poetess knows the heart of India, and that she speaks with authority when she points to Gandhi as the living embodiment of the national spirit. And just now that national spirit is calling for the casting off of fear and submission.

¹⁰"*Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu.*" Second Edition. Madras. No date. See pp. 246, 254-55, 256, 258, 270-271.



PATRIOTISM, like liberty, has been the loudly mouthed excuse and justification for unnumbered crimes against nation, society, and civilization. Hamilton and Knight, *The Making of Citizens*, p. 129.

THE IGNORANT and the poor are groping for the light. They know vaguely that there is hope somewhere. If this were not true, democracy would be imperilled. Annie Marion MacLean, *Our Neighbors*, p. 173.

SOCIAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE VILLAGE

BRUCE L. MELVIN

Ohio Wesleyan University

THE VILLAGE holds possibilities for the future development of our civilization that neither the city nor open country possess. Because the village is the meeting place of these two extremes, it has a chance, which is distinctly unique, to select, conserve, and develop the best from both.

INSTITUTIONAL POSSIBILITIES

For the best possibilities of the village, with its community, to come to fruition, institutional functions must be changed and enlarged and, in fact, evolve new forms of leadership. The school and the church may take this responsibility, because these institutions are the conservators of old spiritual values and initiators of new. The school possesses infinite potentialities in both the growth of curricula and extra-curricula educational activities. The curriculum has been handed to the village school by the city as a priceless, traditional heirloom, but this is exactly the heritage that the village school must annihilate. Boys and girls of the open country attend the village schools, often constituting fifty per cent of the enrollment in both those places that have consolidated schools and those that have not. The consolidation movement also is tending to concentrate the schools in the villages, if Ohio is typical in this respect.

The prevalence of these conditions offers a singular opportunity for schools to reconstruct their curricula on the needs and demands of the village community. The funda-

mental cornerstone of such a re-building is agriculture; this occupation is the heart of the village life as well as that of the open country. The physics, chemistry, the social sciences, and much of the literature, as well as other subjects, can be made to enrich village and country life, and give a new appreciation to the problems of all concerned, in the courses being arranged about the practical phases of farm life. The establishment of the Smith-Hughes high schools indicates a trend in this direction, but the building of agricultural curricula in proportion to the possibilities awaits tremendous constructive thinking and work.

The possibilities of service that the village school can render are not confined to the work in the courses alone, but extend into the extra-curriculum programs. One field of activity is the nurturing and developing of latent dramatic talent which can be found in any locality, but is usually smothered in a belief of inferiority. The school may do little more than give its auditorium where the home talent play may be presented, but even that much encouragement is helping to educate away from and counteract the influence of many a subtle suggestive moving picture which is often forced on the small "movie" house. Besides this, the school is the logical agent through which the higher educational institutions may reach the common people by means of their extension services. Likewise, library advantages may be furnished the people through the same means; the school offers facilities in this respect that no other agency does. Other chances for development in this respect could be discussed, but space forces us to turn to the second important village institution, the church.

The church holds tremendous possibilities of evolution in its own peculiar functions, and with these very great potentialities of leadership for the whole community. This institution has an extraordinary opportunity of interpreting Christianity in terms of present-day problems and

pointing out the solutions which are most beneficial to humanity. This village church with its merchant, laborer, farmer, and retired farmer congregation possesses a unique function of building new mores that involve personal relationships on the basis of the old rural personal standards. This agency, which has as one of its duties the keeping of old values, is arising in many small centers to its prophetic responsibility. Today ministers who have had college and seminary training and who are wrestling with the problems brought out in the "Report of the Steel Strike of 1919" and other literature relating to this field are located in villages whereas a few years ago men of such qualifications were preaching only in the larger places. The portion of our population living in these places must and will take part in the solution of industrial problems as well as agricultural problems, as they did in the stamping out of the liquor traffic. When these people learn that the twelve-hour day is prevalent in American industry and that labor still crushes the childhood joys out of many children, they will obliterate the evils. The village church thus may help build new spiritual values for the coming generations and give a religion that is concerned with making more wholesome living for all.

SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL POSSIBILITIES

The perfecting of the social and recreational opportunities, of which the village possesses many, may come through the leadership of the school and the church. Indeed, this phase of work constitutes a function of both these institutions, either as direct instigators, or motivating forces; indeed, it is the business of both to stimulate the best in this respect. A difference of opinion prevails regarding which of these agencies should assume the responsibility and duty of seeing that the best social and recreational

life is furnished for the village community, but no reason exists for such a disagreement, because the best results may be obtained through the coordination of their work. Each supplements and helps the other and both exist for the sake of the community. It is a fact, however, that where one—and it makes little difference which one—has a good leader in the personality of its superintendent or minister, the directing of the community affairs falls very largely to the institution with the leadership. A very good example of the transfer of leadership from the church to the school is found in the village of Ashley, Ohio. Some years ago the outstanding man of the place was the minister who had a vision of service, for the community, to be rendered by the church. In trying to realize this vision he lost his health and finally his life. From the time of his death no man has been found who could take his place as a clergyman and community leader. Instead of the church now standing in the forefront of social and recreational affairs the school is dominant, which may be partially due to the fact it is now consolidated and the boys and girls from the whole township attend. Through the athletic life and entertainments the school has assumed the direction of the social and recreational affairs to a very great extent. This educational center, which is aided by the Smith-Hughes Act, is striving to fill its place as a real community builder for both the village and surrounding rural territory.

The possibilities for constructive schemes of social and recreational life are many and varied in the village when adequate and efficient guidance is afforded. The ideal expenditure of leisure time consists of wholesome forms of self-expression, and not in psychological long distance recreation that is manifest in watching a moving picture. The most worth-while kind of recreation for any individual is that in which the person himself takes part. The village community is not too large for a program of enter-

tainments and play to be planned for a year or two at a time with adequate provisions for all to take some part. Playgrounds are just as vital for the boys and girls of the village and open country as for the children of the city. Young people are, as a rule, under-supplied with facilities of social and recreational expressions. Because of this lack in the average village, the boys on Sunday afternoons gather for miles around, congregating in the ice cream parlors, restaurants, and drug stores. Also the barber shop and the pool room serve as additional centers on the other days of the week. The chief recreation of these places consists of telling of vulgar stories and the playing of coarse jokes on each other. Besides the viciousness of these methods of amusement, the whole system is commercialized. The trade of the pool hall is drawn usually from a territory larger than that from which the stores secure their customers. These commercialized and deteriorating ways of amusement can be eliminated if only the church or school or leading citizens will assume responsibility for seeing that beneficial methods of spending spare time are established. Playgrounds would be one step in the solution. Yes, even Sunday baseball would be far better than the common method which has just been pointed out. Regular social nights are being used in some places with extra good consequences. Clubs can be organized; clubs that may be educational, economic, or purely for a good time. Boy Scout and Girl Scout programs can be adapted to this little center with boys and girls of both open country and village as members. It is probably useless to point out any further details regarding specific things that can be done, because those are handled adequately in books and articles dealing entirely with those problems, but the village offers unsurpassed opportunities for exercising this field of activity. Social and recreational life can be extricated from the purely commercial and built on virgin soil.

The village and open country boys and girls are looking for and needing methods of self-expression.

All these possibilities can easily be realized if the men of the villages and open country will take advantage of their chances in their own field. Business men's organizations can include the farmers in their programs. This is very successful in those places where it has been tried. The villager is coming to understand the farmer and the farmer the villagers; and as a result of this mutual appreciation a better community spirit has arisen. The men who belong to these organizations as well as to the schools and churches can furnish the plans for the recreational and social activities of the young people.

CULTURAL POSSIBILITIES

Culture is a result of leisure time, contacts, and adequate economic stability. In times past it has been the city or the aristocratic system in a rural environment that offered conditions of this kind. That is no longer true, because the village does now possess the fundamentals for such growth. Women's clubs are being formed in these places. Great division of labor can now be found here; occupations are becoming more and more varied in these villages every year. With this, certain cultural developments can be found, such as women devoting their spare time to painting, carrying on study courses through the clubs, and learning how to exercise their power through the use of the ballot. In fact, all these possibilities for culture exist for the village as well as those which have been discussed above because of the particular evolution through which it is now passing.

The village is becoming the farmers' center. Retired farmers are moving into it, and these with those who remain on the farms are buying interests in the varied

businesses and are establishing cooperative organizations with headquarters in the village. Also, decentralization of industry is taking place and manufacturing plants are going to the villages on a small scale. Due to these changes with the accompanying diversity of occupations, more and more trained men and women are being found in the villages. In fact, a few people are returning to the village from the city. Also, the farmers' open country spontaneous and unconscious community organization has broken down through systems of rapid transit. This same system is carrying the farmer into the villages and causing him to mix with the laboring men and business men. Also, concentration is taking place in the churches, schools, hospitals, and other institutionalized activities. With all this development, city meeting country in the village, the village, the last to be noticed by those interested in human advancement, has infinite possibilities to make great contributions to our civilization and become the stabilizing force in our industrial revolution.



TEN SMALL discussion groups in a community will do more to create the new way of life than 100 mass meetings with 1,000 in attendance. E. C. Lindeman, *Proceedings of Conference of Social Work*, 1922, p. 77.

THE DELINQUENT is the one who does not come up to the mark in the performance of those duties which the group has placed upon every member. Goddard, *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, p. 63.

UNTIL we have a society, however, made up of individuals seeking to gain wealth only through creative labor or through saving, rather than seeking to attain it through chance or privilege or opportunity to drive a bargain, we shall fail to secure an economic life which is just or in harmony with scientific principles. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. 228.

THE CONCEPT OF REPRESSION IN THE ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS OF THE FAMILY

IVA L. PETERS

Professor of Economics and Sociology, Goucher College

RECENT advances in the study of human behavior are throwing light on the relation of the family environment, of which the young child is so helpless a part, to the development of a well integrated personality. In his recent study of "Our Social Heritage," Graham Wallas pictures the child as "a strongly outlined sketch, the details of which are filled in after birth by his nurture." The reception of and final reaction to the institutional life into which he is born are a part of the field of investigation of "the new psychology," one division of which includes a psychiatric technique developed to aid in understanding unusual or abnormal behavior. This technique, known as psychoanalysis, has quite definitely established the fact that many of the functional neuroses originate in the experiences of childhood.

Behavioristic psychology is concerned with the whole field of reactions to stimuli, inherited and acquired, including the reactions to the social environment so early conditioned as to be distinguished with great difficulty from instinctive behavior. Dr. John B. Watson has done about the only work in this field which attempts to separate what is inherited from what is acquired. In an important recent article he says:¹ "At present we have not the data for the enumeration of man's original tendencies and it will be impossible to obtain such data until we have followed

¹Watson, John B. and Rosalie Rayner: "Studies in Infant Psychology." *The Scientific Monthly*, December, 1921. Vol. XIII, No. 6, pp. 493-515.

through the development of the activity of many infants from birth to advanced childhood. Our own view after studying many hundreds of infants is that one can make or break the child so far as its personality is concerned long before the age of five is reached. We believe that by the end of the second year the pattern of the future individual is already laid down. Children of five years of age and over are enormously sophisticated. The home environment and outside companions have so shaped them that the original tendencies cannot be observed."

The process by which habits are normally acquired under the home influences is fairly well understood as a result of the experimentation with the conditioned reflex. The study of this process was the work of the great physiologist Pavlov, who developed an elaborate technique for the conditioning of the salivary reflex. This is a spinal cord reflex of the most elemental sort, the secretion of saliva following the stimulus of food. In the course of the experiment it was found that if some other object or act were presented or performed often enough at the time food was given, an association was formed in the mind of the animal between the original stimulus and the associated stimulus, so that the glandular activity was aroused in either case. If a bell was rung, after a time the flow of saliva could be induced by the bell without the food. The bell, in this case, is a conditional stimulus; the reaction, a conditioned reflex. Watson found that the reflex may be conditioned not alone at the level of the simple physiological reflex, but in the case of emotional reactions. Conditioning in this case would mean that when an emotionally exciting object stimulates the subject simultaneously with one not directly emotionally exciting, the latter may in time arouse the same emotional response as the other. Dr. W. H. Burnham, the American authority who has applied this work to problems of mental hygiene, concludes that by them-

selves these conditioned reflexes are relatively unstable unless reenforced by renewed association with the original stimulus or drive, which draws its energy from elemental cravings.² Before they become a permanent part of the mental life, systems of association with other reflexes must have been elaborated. Such substitute formations are especially common because of the pressure exercised by social life, which under favorable conditions may warp native endowment and capacities.

Although researches such as those of Pavlov, Watson, Burnham and others lie in the direct path of psychological progress, light has been thrown on the problems of personality from another and less expected source. In the wake of the brilliant Viennese physician, Sigmund Freud, has come a group of writers and experimenters. As a result of Freud's experiences with a practice made up largely of neurotic women of the middle class, he reached the conclusion that many of their troubles were functional, and caused by a process which he called repression.³ His remarkable cures were accomplished by the restoration to consciousness of long-buried experiences. On examining the nature of these memories, Freud found that they were invariably unpleasant, things one does not like to experience and prefers to forget. Hence he came to regard repression as a process of expulsion of these ideas from the field of consciousness into a part of the mind he called the unconscious. This process was regarded by Freud and his followers as a defence of the personality against unpleasant ideas. But the next step was much more startling, namely, that these ideas forcibly expelled from consciousness continue their activity. It was believed that the idea expelled from consciousness finally broke away from the web of associations which can be recalled by an effort of the will.

²Burnham, William H. *The Significance of the Conditioned Reflex in Mental Hygiene*. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1921. Reprint No. 126.

But instead of being lost and harmless they had penetrated the unconscious part of the mind, where they continued to build associations highly charged with affectivity. The term "unconscious" is seen to apply to experiences which cannot be brought back to memory by any ordinary means, but which are conserved and affect the conscious life without themselves becoming conscious. That there are such mechanisms of the mind may be regarded as established.

The shock of the approach to the study of the normal by way of the admittedly abnormal combined with the effect of Freud's picturesque terminology to obscure the fact that repression, one of the outstanding features of the new doctrine, was under another name included within the scope of orthodox psychology. Repression in its less exciting phases is known as inhibition, whose processes have long been fairly well understood. When this is accepted the Freudian doctrine of forgetting becomes more comprehensible; that is, that we forget what we want to forget. It is to be admitted, however, that before the insistence of the psychoanalysts on the nature of forgetting, many psychologists had treated inhibition as the negative of reinforcement, as a part of the general problem of attention. Of course it must be granted that a special expenditure of psychic or neural energy in one direction entails a draining of energy from other directions, so that attention to one set of objects or ideas involves inattention to others. Many cases of inhibition, inattention, and arrest stop at this point. Further impartial study of the subject will probably disclose that there are two kinds of forgetting, one of them involving no repression and after effects, a decay of memory from lack of retention. The object or idea has fallen out of consciousness because of lack of association or the preoccupation of the mind with other matters at the time the stimulus was given. Retentivity is measurable on a scale of individual differences.

But the process involved in the active expulsion of an idea from consciousness deserved more attention than had been given to it. Here we are undoubtedly dealing with a positive rather than a negative process, something more than a mere falling out of consciousness through meagerness of association. Any one who has struggled with unpleasant memories knows that if there are many associations with daily pursuits, they emerge again and again. It would seem clear even to the lay person that there is a difference between failing to notice A because we are preoccupied with B, and those cases in which we concentrate attention on B because we do not want to pay attention to A. And even though the difference should prove to be one of stress and intensity, still the Freudians may have helped other psychologists to a fuller recognition of the difference in the after-effects. They have already convinced many that there is evidence for the existence in mental affairs of an active force of repression, a phase of inhibition, which strives to exclude from consciousness things painful or at least unpleasant and inconsistent with the concept of the ego. Cases of forgetting as a result of active and willed repression can never be explained by lack of vividness. It seems quite undeniable that a memory which has been so importunate as to lead to the taking of active measures to swamp it cannot be said to have failed to reach a state of intensity sufficient to insure it attention.

The morbid side of Freud's valuable hypothesis has been overemphasized in popular discussion, obscuring the fact that there is a constructive side to the process of repression. Under the proper conditions the process may make for the efficient working of the mind through displacement of the energy which might be wasted on infantile and primitive levels to levels of cultural and artistic activity. This valuable form of repression is called sublimation. A repressed tendency may be abandoned in favor of a form of

behavior which will satisfy in a large measure the original craving; this sublimated activity may be one meeting with social approval. According to the concept of mental development held by psychoanalysts, during childhood tendencies which are more or less irreconcilable with the moral sentiments and traditions of the group are in constant conflict with them. These selfish and primitive desires strive for expression and dispute with the social forces for the available supply of energy. By one form of repression or another the anti-social forces must be routed in order that the child may live at peace with his group. As development proceeds the social self takes on an attitude toward the anti-social forces of disgust or fear. Although the conflict may have been fierce enough to leave its traces in mental health, equilibrium will be obtained between the infantile impulses and the controlling social forces. Rivers' experience with the war neuroses led him to believe that the mechanisms of repression only appeared with a breakdown. More normally, there is a fusion of elements as integration proceeds. Account must be taken, however, of the fact that there is much greater affectivity connected with some inhibitory activities than with others. Repression of the activities of the major instincts, unless expressed on higher levels, may go on building, drawing their vitality from the unconscious life.

In his exploration of the mind of the hysteric, Freud found that the memories recalled with such great effort were always in associative relation with childhood experiences which had been suppressed in deference to the ethical and cultural traditions of the family group. He had therefore even in his pioneer work drawn attention to the importance of the family relation in the development of the individual. This teaching becomes much more explicit in the work of his pupil, C. J. Jung of Zurich, who worked out in elaborate detail the mechanisms of the fam-

ily relation. In spite of the personal disagreements of the two, the reader will note that their work is complementary. Many of Freud's conclusions, dealing as they did with the infantile and the primitive, were exceedingly unpleasant to the lay reader; but one of the most disagreeable features was his insistence on the importance of the infantile sexual tendencies in the development of mental life. To many it seemed that he extended his interpretation of the sexual until there was scant room left for the play of other inherited tendencies. But by still further extending the meaning of his own term, Libido, Jung obscured the specific character of certain tendencies undoubtedly of a sexual character.

The value to the sociologist of the work of Jung lies in his study of the conditionings of the Libido in the family environment. From the correspondence of the universal myths of primitive groups to the complexes of the neurotic, he concluded that the psychological atmosphere of the family, with the emotions aroused and maintained by the habitual relationships, exercise a very considerable influence on later development. On this principle, the mechanisms resulting from habits and attitudes toward the different members of the family are later unconsciously used to determine relationships to one's fellow men in general. In other words, these early conditionings, often on the emotional level and embodied in unconscious attitudes of love and hate, will determine the emotional responses in later life. A tentative deduction would be that an individual's outlook and point of view in dealing with the most important questions of human existence could be expressed in terms of the attitude toward the problems arising within the relatively narrow world of the family circle. Although only the first steps have been taken in this attempt

³Freud, Sigmund: *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*. New York, 1920. Lecture xix, General Theory of the Neuroses.

to throw light on the importance of the family environment in normal development, it would seem that there might be hope of real guidance from some intensive case studies carried on with this in view. For example, a closer study of the filio-parental relation and the relation of the children in the family to one another might throw some much-needed light on later love experiences. Some studies carried on over a number of years by the writer of this paper indicate that the experience of "falling in love," the *bete noir* of the eugenicist, is the result of the infantile fixations and a process of sudden identification of a new object with another loved since infancy. The frequent recurrence of the reconditioning of the love impulse on the basis of physical and mental similarity constitutes a factor of major importance to the sociologist. The tendency must for good or ill act as a potent factor in preserving the purity of types as well as family, national, and racial characters.

One of the gravest problems confronting the American people today is the failure of home life to provide a training which gives the proper start in life. If early education could be so wise and careful that the child's native impulses were fused into a relatively harmonious functioning, mental health could be maintained in maturity under conditions where a less integrated mind would give way. When infantile tendencies persist in conflict with the requirements of social life, under undue strain some kind of breakdown, physical, mental or moral, is all too apt to occur. The teaching of this paper is that given a wholesome family environment there can be fusion of the selfish and primitive tendencies with the ethics of the larger community. On the other hand, weakness or over-tenderness may encourage in the able individual a tendency to exploit the community for selfish ends; while lack of proper help and guidance may arouse resentment which will later be transferred from the individual arousing it to the world

at large. To those to whom study and experience have disclosed the complexity and far-reaching importance of the problems suggested, teachers, clergymen, physicians and practical sociologists, there can be little doubt that any light thrown by psychology at this juncture will be a welcome application of scientific knowledge to social phenomena.



THERE ARE four major, and deadly international sins that menace our future. The first of these is political injustice; the second is economic exploitation; the third is racial discrimination; the fourth is subservience to material gain. Editorial, *Christian Century*, Jan. 25, 1923, p. 102.

THE FACT that the greatest event in the American university year, the one event which brings all American university graduates into a communion of minds each year, is a football game is worth a serious pondering. An Englishman, quoted in the *Living Age*, Jan. 20, 1923, p. 183.

IF IT be not good for one to live amid vice and crime for amusement, it will be quite as bad for the great lower orders of society to feed *ad libitum* upon what commercial interests prepare for them, and, with so many insinuating devices, invite them to enjoy each afternoon, each night of each day everywhere. Oberholtzer, *The Morals of the Movie*, p. 99.

THE JUVENILE COURT AS A SOCIAL LABORATORY

MIRIAM VAN WATERS,

Referee of the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles County

THERE IS the utmost need today of plain speaking about Juvenile Courts. Institutions everywhere are in flux, family, school, church, industry and even political parties are being reorganized. Old safeguards in our community machinery have broken down. Bolts and bars have slipped; with many of our cherished social contrivances it is a mere question as to whether they will be remade, or scrapped. Bitter are the outcries of one group against the other; the school blames the home, the home attacks the school, and both unite in criticising the failure of the church. Each group recognizes too that something is wrong in our social organism. In morals the old is not dead and the new is not strong enough to stand, and youth dances out into the streets, eager and untaught, and impatient of the hubbub of voices trying to remake the social order.

"In the meantime—we must live!" cry the young people. The press and the "movies" and many other organs of social expression say by implication, that greed, or display, or cruelty, or violence, or bloodthirstiness, or blind sex are perfectly usual, normal and desirable ways of living, indulged in by interesting and important people. Other voices place emphasis elsewhere, on industry, art, parenthood, ambition, social service or science, but their voices are not so articulate, and most disastrous of all, there is in these times no vigorous, wholesale denial of false standards. Youth is tremendously confused, and if it practices

virtue it can hardly believe in it. It is an age of extreme tolerance of all kinds of social standards and bitter criticism of existing social institutions. In short no time could be found more suitable than this for defining one's use in the world.

The Juvenile Court should by right of its origin, history and present position have something very definite to say for itself. The Juvenile Court idea has a part to play in the remoulding of the social order which no other social group can, as yet, supply. And this role is to express the parenthood of the state.

Parents under the law may bring up their children with such ideas as they please, schools may strive to provide education for all types of childhood, and indeed re-education for those who need it; the church may preach the gospel, private agencies may seek to guide and direct social policy and may correct abuses and supply relief and remedies to each disaster they are equipped to care for, but finally when the system breaks down for the individual, when parents, or school, or church, or private agency, or all together have somehow not succeeded in saving the child, then the state through the Juvenile Court has reserved its right to throw proper parental care, custody and discipline around its wards.

The Juvenile Court exists for the protection of childhood and for the enforcing of its rights to proper care and training. And the legal machinery for this court, as is now well known through the labors of great juvenile court workers like Judges Waite, Hoffman, Baker, Wilbur, Lindsay, Cabot and Orfa Jean Shontz, is vested in the strong arm of the ancient Anglo-Saxon Chancellor, now evolved into our modern court of chancery. The keynote to the whole procedure is that it is equitable.

The Juvenile Court is of tremendous social significance now when ever-increasing numbers are breaking

through the confused background of old standards and an overwhelming rush of feet march on through prison gates. Once the adult breaks the law we have criminal machinery, criminal procedure, criminal courts to deal with him. The equitable nature of the court is gone: it is frankly penal. The Juvenile Court is the last legal barrier between offending youth and criminal treatment.

Now an equitable court can be a social laboratory, which is indeed the theme of this paper. But before we proceed to describe its work, let us define terms,—social means humanizing, that is to say, existing for the benefit of human groups; laboratory means a place where something is *worked* out,—really done. Only by insisting, from time to time on the definitions afresh, can we get a clear view of our field.

I think we are too callous as to the habitual use of the wrong words in the procedure of the Juvenile Court itself. A boy, whose mother works out and whose father is in prison, steals a bicycle. He is a frail, underfed little urchin of ten. The right words applied to his case would be as follows:—there is a petition filed *in his behalf* (for obviously he is lacking in parental care and discipline), he is detained, he has a hearing, he has committed an offense, he is placed in the custody of the probation officer to somehow be restored to normal feeding, housing, school, church, play and industry, and to be re-educated to right ideas about bicycles.

The wrong words misrepresent this case as follows:—the boy has committed a *crime*, there is a *complaint* filed *against* him, he is arrested and placed on *trial* during which he is the *defendant*. He is *found guilty*, or *convicted* and *sentenced* to an institution, or the *sentence* may be suspended and the *young criminal* placed on probation.

These words are all wrong. They are wrong historically, legally and socially,—historically because the Juvenile

Court is no mere offshoot of a criminal court, but a growth of the powers of guardianship of the chancery court,—legally because the law has described the status of the child who comes before the court, he is not a criminal but a ward with special needs which the state has the power of supplying, since the family and other social groups are unwilling or unable to do so,—socially these shreds of criminalistic terminology are wrong because they engender the wrong attitude. They have a bad effect on the morale of the child and on the morale of the probation officer.

Bad Juvenile Court procedure increases the very delinquency it aims to correct. At the most impressionable age it stamps the child with the feeling of guilt and whether the reaction to this is childish bravado, or a feeling of inferiority it is equally bad for moral health.

In good Juvenile Court procedure the offense should not be the core of the inquiry, but merely an incident as the cough of the patient in the clinic is regarded as incidental to the whole group of symptoms of ill health.

How detrimental is this procedure! For example a young girl on being removed from the detention home has a list of names and addresses of sailor boys. The probation officer discloses these to the judge who says:

"Where did you get these?"

"Why—I—I—copied them from the detention home arithmetic book," says the girl.

"Oh, indeed!" says the judge. "I never found anything so interesting as that in my arithmetic book. We will send you back to the detention home."

The court and the officials laugh heartily while the child flushes. People often wonder at the tough, hardened manner of many young girl delinquents. In this unequal combat of repartee, debasing alike to court and child, is the defiant attitude often built. Sometimes it is not so unequal. The young girl becomes skilled, as when the judge

was giving a moral lecture to a girl and she replied:

"Oh, can the comedy!"

The use of the right procedure, simple, childlike, parental, dignified, human is the first essential in making the Juvenile Court a social laboratory.

The second essential is the use of the scientific method. A laboratory is the place where things are understood,—where causes are studied. We all know as a matter of theory that behavior is caused, that it has certain definite antecedents. We all too unfortunately know courts where the question: "Why did you do this?" is not propounded for the purpose of getting an answer, but is followed immediately by a sermon, a lecture, a bombardment by means of the moral judgment. By all means let us let go of the concept of the moral judgment and seek as patiently as social physicians must, the causes that underlie behavior.

The modern court has the use of the physical and psychological laboratory,—it must now develop itself into a comprehensive organization for getting the social causes as well. The true picture of family life, school experience, recreation, habits, the mental content, the ideas, the love-objects, these last, the things the child loves, are vastly important,—must be presented in detail and synthesized into a diagnosis.

The third and final essential of a court which is a social laboratory, is the ability to work something out for the *benefit* of the child. There should be really constructive treatment. We need social machinery for putting our knowledge into action. In many Juvenile Courts knowledge far outruns practice. We know a great deal about the causes of delinquency,—almost too much—but we have not organized our engineering forces to bridge the chasm between our laboratory reports and the child.

How often the probation officer merely accompanies the case. He is present,—that is about all one can say of him.

He is like a passenger on a raft borne by a swift current. He accompanies the disaster or the success, and he records what takes place.

The court should have something definite to offer the child. He comes before the court because parents, school, church and community have failed him. The court must supply this lack, not that the court should itself run these agencies of rehabilitation, but it must interpret the child to the community and must link him up afresh with these social groups. It is a simple case of supplying a great parental care.

Lack of facilities, lack of time, overwork, pressure of cases and red tape are not nearly so detrimental to efficient work as lack of the right attitude. Personality, an alive, skilled, interested *parental* personality is the prime essential of treatment after the diagnosis. Let every Juvenile Court official remember one elemental basic fact that the court is there to represent the parenthood of the state. To achieve this result and to carry out this idea training is requisite. How much training only those who have submitted themselves to the patient discipline of preparing for social service can know. All knowledge of life and literature and science is hardly enough to meet the obvious needs of the simplest child. It appears so easy to do the right thing in the right way at the right moment. So does the work of jugglers, acrobats and surgeons appear simple. It is acquired by unselfish devotion after long experience. It is the simplicity of a perfectly balanced mind and body and soul.

CONCLUSIONS

All great discoveries are simple. The rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and those who suffer from industrial accidents, the training of the blind and deaf, the re-education

of delinquent,—all these are simple, human and obvious. The new method of treating sprains is to bandage the injured member to a normal position and set it instantly to work. So too in the reconstruction of human lives, ignored and maimed in the pressure of modern conditions, the essential thing is to relate them to normal community life as far as their handicapped condition renders that possible.

To socialize a Juvenile Court three things are needful: the use of the right words and the right procedure, the use of the scientific method in obtaining a true picture of the causes of conduct, and the dominant concept of the court as a social laboratory, a place where constructive things get done for youthful offenders and for neglected childhood.



THERE is just one social equality conceivable, and that is in the right to fair play. Platt, *Psychology of Social Life*, p. 233.

THE RELIGIOUS spirit can be revived only when religion is brought into harmony with men's unquestioned scientific beliefs and with their social needs—that is, into harmony with science and democracy. Ellwood, *Reconstruction of Religion*, p. viii.

A STRIKING paradox in American life is seen in political democracy with its equality of all men—in theory at least—on the one hand, and what may be termed absolute monarchy or despotism in industry on the other. Janes, *American Trade Unionism*, p. 1.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY is beginning to show us that man advances towards completeness not by further aggregations to himself, but by further and further relating of self to other men. Follett, *The New State*, p. 65.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

By NORA STERRY

*Principal Macy Street Neighborhood School
Los Angeles*

THIS STUDY is a phase of an investigation of the social conditions among the inhabitants of Chinatown, Los Angeles. Physical factors as represented in housing conditions have already been reported.¹ This paper will deal with the social attitudes manifested in Chinatown, Los Angeles, regarding the function of women and children, men, tongs, politics, religion, art and music, and loyalty to China. This study, it should be observed, deals with only one group of Chinese and represents their attitudes, but not the attitudes of the more educated Chinese, among whom there are many persons of the highest types of character.

The mother has an honorable position in the household with authority equal to that of her husband. Indeed when their views differ it is more than likely that hers will prevail. As an example I may cite a certain family where the father is an "Empire-helper" and a Buddhist and the mother is a Christian and a Republican. The children are devout Christians and the oldest boy is an enthusiastic member of the Chinese Nationalist Party. Women are free to come and go about the streets, to attend church services and to visit where they please (I know only one woman in China town who is hampered by bound feet) but the lives of the older women are nevertheless narrow and dull. Neighborhood calls and an occasional picnic

¹See the writer's article in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Nov.-Dec., 1922, pp. 70-75, entitled "Housing Conditions in Chinatown, Los Angeles."

to the graves of their dead appear to be their only relaxations. During the morning they have their household duties but in the afternoon they sit around idly. The younger women, who have attended the public schools and who are therefore in spite of the isolation of Chinatown a semi-product of our civilization, usually find employment, or at least an interesting avocation, such as music.

The children lead hard unchild-like lives. They are well loved and cared for, the girls equally with the boys. Their welfare is earnestly considered and their education is of major importance. They are often badly spoiled and there is a conspicuous lack of the traditional reverence for parental authority, but they are never neglected by their parents. Their great handicap is that they do not know how to play. This presents one of the hardest problems of the public schools in this section, for the Chinese children stand aloof from the social life of the school and are with the greatest difficulty induced to mingle with children of other races for anything but study. Formal dramatics they are glad to take part in, but ordinary play is something that they do not understand, beyond a few games of individual skill, such as marbles and kite-flying by the boys. That this is a matter of training is evidenced by the fact that the few who have begun in the kindergarten and have completed several years beyond mingle naturally with the others. Most of the Chinese children however attend the mission schools for the first few years or come direct from China at the age of twelve or more. The routine of their daily life outside the public school does not allow for play and they must actually be taught what seems instinctive in other children.

Every boy and nearly every little girl attends Chinese school in addition to regular day school. Within half an hour after the completion of the latter the child must report at Chinese school, where he remains until seven or

eight o'clock at night, with only half an hour off for supper. On Saturday he goes from ten till four and sometimes he goes on Sunday for half a day. He continues to attend through the summer, with no vacation period. These schools teach reading and writing and, as the child progresses, the Classics. Last year, for the first time, teachers of these schools were required to take an oath of allegiance to the United States but there is no public supervision over their course or methods. There are at present five of them in Chinatown. One, which has recently opened, is in the nature of an innovation and prides itself on being modern. It recognizes the child's need for recreation and therefore runs only from four-thirty to eight-thirty through the week and from ten to four-thirty on Saturday, and in addition a daily recess is allowed. In each school a monthly fee of four dollars is charged per pupil.

The mission schools, which are largely attended during the day by the younger children, have night classes for adults. These classes, which have been in existence for nearly half a century, have been of great civic value inasmuch as they have taught English to many men.

That the children from Chinatown are not up to standard physically is not surprising. Out of thirty-six examined at the Macy St. School, all but five were below normal in weight. Nearly all are lacking in energy. Mentally however they are above the average of the school. No Chinese child is enrolled either in the development room for feeble-minded nor in the ungraded room for slow students. Records of formal mental tests are not at hand in enough instances to be of interest. The Binet-Simon test is given only to those in the upper grades because of the language difficulties among lower grade pupils in a foreign school, and there are only nine Chinese children above the third grade. Performance tests, such as those of Pintner and Patterson, were discarded from the school

largely because of the results among the Chinese, who were all rated thereby as deficient mentally, while every other evidence showed them to be at least of average intelligence. The consensus of opinion among the teachers is that they are more thorough in their work than the other foreign children and make steadier progress. They are badly retarded, academically, it is true, but this is due to the fact that most of them enter school at an advanced age, unable to speak English. Of the fifty-six children enrolled at the present time, thirty-one were born in China and only three of these have been in the United States as long as three years.

Chinese men have a much wider social life than the women or the children. To begin with, practically every man, certainly every man of any social or industrial standing, belongs to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. This is by far the most important local organization, taking the place in Los Angeles that is occupied in San Francisco by the Six Companies. This was founded before 1880 though there is no record of the exact date. It is supported by the yearly dues of its members. It has no affiliations with the American Chamber of Commerce, which avows complete ignorance of it beyond its name. Ostensibly it is organized to regulate Chinese industries but actually, although it has no legal status it governs the community with an authority so absolute that from its decisions there is no appeal. Asking what would happen to a man who dared to disobey its manifesto, one is told that in such a case no other Chinaman would transact business nor hold speech with the transgressor and that he would find life insupportable in Chinatown under such conditions. Fortunately under recent leadership its influence has been progressive. It has openly fought ancestor worship until today this doctrine is no longer taught to the children. Nevertheless it looks away from America to China; one of its chief func-

tions is to assist old Chinamen to return to their native land.

In addition to his membership in the Chamber, almost every man belongs also to a tong. A tong is a fraternal and political organization, intent upon furthering the interests of its members and imbued with an intense spirit of rivalry towards other tongs. There are only two in this city, the Hop Sing and the Bing Gong, although there are four others in the United States. To belong to a tong is to be ensured protection of life and property, or at least revenge if either is interfered with. A man may belong to more than one tong; I know of one man in San Francisco who belongs to all six and walks the streets openly and in safety during any tong war; but this is far too expensive a proceeding to be common. It is almost as safe to belong to no tong and almost as rare. Each tong is a chapter of a large inter-state organization and all fellow members wherever located are pledged to mutual support. A part of the disfavor with which the Chinese have been viewed in this country has been due to the warfare indulged in between these various tongs. The quarrels are not, as many suppose, riotous and chaotic affairs, but are rigidly governed by an unwritten Chinese code that demands an eye for an eye in case of injury. Personal honor is far dearer to the heart of every Chinaman than it is to the average American but his conception of the privileges and obligations implied thereby is so divergent from our own that no American is qualified to judge ethically in a Chinese affair where personal honor is involved, as is the case in every tong war. It may be our duty to enforce what we consider wiser laws and we are certainly entitled to use every effort to educate towards a different standard of conduct; but we should not condemn where we do not understand.

To determine the real religion of the Chinese is difficult. The missions have been established since before the mem-

ory of the oldest inhabitant. Many of the older Chinese are undoubtedly genuine converts and the native born children are all well grounded in sectarian doctrines, and are regular attendants at Sunday School and church. Some of the adults are frankly Buddhists. But the majority appear to have a thin veneer of Christianity over a substratum of Buddhism; or rather they have been taught to be ashamed of their native religion and to profess Christianity out of policy, as in the case of a young woman to whom I gave English lessons at her home. A large and hideous idol occupied a shrine in the hall and incense burned continually before it. One day I asked her the idol's name. She replied that it was an image of Jesus Christ.

Great credit is due the missions, which though narrow perhaps in their views, and restricted in means and methods, have nevertheless been the one constant and persistent influence towards Americanization, the only elevating phase of American life with which the majority of the Chinese have come in contact.

There were at one time, as we have noted, two Buddhist temples in Los Angeles. There is but one today, the Kong Chow Temple. The religion practiced therein is nominally Buddhism; in reality it is a low form of Taoism, consisting almost wholly of the exorcism of evil spirits. There is an oracle attached which is frequently consulted by the orthodox. During the Nineties this temple possessed a wonderful image in the shape of a dragon. It was half a block in length and when born aloft on the shoulders of coolies, whose legs alone showed beneath its encompassing body; it was an awe inspiring vision. In 1895 it was entered in the city fiesta and won the first prize over all other exhibits. A few years ago it was sold and is no longer in Los Angeles. The temple however still possesses several truly impressive idols.

Ancestor worship, although, as noted above, is not taught

generally to the children, yet it is still practiced by a large number of the adults. Home sacrifices are common. In China Alley, to which few "foreign devils" penetrate, every house has a "red paper" pasted outside with peacock feathers fastened above it and candle holders affixed. The papers are a prayer to ward off evil, the feathers are to ensure good luck, and lighted candles placed in holders will exorcise demons. To the conservatives, white people supposedly bring evil with them. On one occasion, when the teachers were taking the school census and their arrival was anticipated, every home in China Alley had its candles lit in front of the door before their arrival. This custom of protecting the house by feathers, prayer papers, and candles exists on most of the rear streets but on the main thoroughfares, it is never seen.

The Chinese are so advanced in literature, art and music, that even these American Chinese, who are in general representatives of an unlettered class, show considerable evidences of culture. Their appreciation of color is highly developed, as is evidenced by the cheerful aspect of the Chinese streets and more particularly by the native dress. They have been taught to be ashamed of these costumes and will seldom wear them outside of Chinatown. Indeed the boys have generally discarded them, even for house wear, but the women and girls continue to use them in their houses. In texture, color, design, and ornamentation they are always pleasing to the eye and are often exquisitely beautiful. Indeed they are eminently more desirable from every standpoint than the American substitutes except in one particular: they render the wearer liable to ridicule from white people. The homes show little effort at inside ornamentation except that in season there is always a bowl of lilies and every family has at least one large and beautifully colored lantern for feast days. It is rare to find a Chinese child in school who has not marked

talent for drawing and painting, and even the youngest children show admiration for the lovely embroideries which are exhibited during New Year at the Company Houses and in the temple.

There is a growing tendency to do away with as many of the old institutions as possible, Chinese music being included in the ban. Nevertheless, the native instruments are frequently to be heard from the streets and during festivals the Tong and Company Houses have trios and quartettes that play and sing hour after hour. Their music is not harmonious to an Occidental ear and Americans are inclined to laugh at it. But a Chinese musician must study for many years before he is allowed to play in an orchestra and music is with them both a science and an art, as it is with us, though it does not seem to be an affair for everyday use. I have never heard a Chinese woman sing around the house and the children seldom know songs in their own language, unless they have been taught gospel hymns in Chinese.

The loyalty of the Chinese to the United States is a dubious thing. In view of the social injustice that has always been meted out to them, their affection for America is really remarkable. In recent years there has been erected in Canton a replica of the statue of the Goddess of Liberty. It stands upon a pyramid of great stone blocks, one for each of our states, the money for which was contributed by the Chinese of the respective states. They are proud of living here and they have as a race a respect for the flag and what it represents of law and order. Many of the young men fought under it during the late war and the first Chinese branch of the Red Cross was organized here in Chinatown. I have never heard a disloyal utterance from any Chinese nor do I think them disloyal in their thoughts, but their allegiance is to China. The political affairs of China are the burning interest in every Chinese

mind. To spend one's old age in China is the greatest desire of the heart and one of the chief functions of the Chamber of Commerce, already noted, is to send back to China old men who have not saved enough to go without aid. On special occasions the American flag is seen in Chinatown and is invariably treated with respect. But day in and day out the flag of the Chinese Republic flutters above the district. The other day I questioned a young Chinaman who is an ex-pupil of mine as to his conduct in case war broke out between China and the United States. His answer was unhesitating. "I should go back to fight for China." "But," I asked, "are you not an American born citizen?" "Yes," he replied, much embarrassed, "but I should just *have* to go to fight for China. I wouldn't have any choice." Though not all might be frank enough to avow it, this is the common attitude of the young men of Chinatown.

We have no right to condemn a non-loyal attitude on their part. They have accepted perforce the social position which we have thrust upon them but it must not be supposed that it has bred in them any sense of inferiority. The Chinaman is intensely proud of his blood and traditions, supremely aware that his civilization, despised by us, has stood the test of centuries while ours is still in the making. Stung by our contempt, it is natural that he does not consider himself one of us but turns toward his native land. If we are willing that, living among us, the Chinese shall remain alien in spirit; if we are so little their brothers in democracy that we relegate them permanently to an inferior social order; then we cannot in justice resent their lack of fellowship.

The loss is ours as well as theirs. They are a permanent part of our nation but their spiritual affiliations are with the old world. And so long as this is true they will remain a stumbling block in the path of our national development.

CONSTRUCTIVE GROUP CONTROL

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

University of Southern California

SINCE EVERY group exercises tremendous influence over its members continually, human beings need to discriminate regarding the type of controls to which they are subject and by which their lives are patterned.¹ Group controls are of two general classes: those which inhibit, and those which inspire; those using fear, and those utilizing hope; those employing force, and those exercising love—in other words, repressive and constructive.²

Any reference to repressive control throws light on the nature and need for constructive controls.³ Historically, human groups have promoted social pressure at the expense of social inspiration. They multiplied the "Thou shalt nots;" they featured repression. The Hebrews emphasized negative rules for moral conduct, and the Puritans established negative controls over recreation. Nearly everywhere society has used and advertised torture, capital punishment, dark and dismal dungeons, the guillotine, and the gallows—as deterrents. Parents have become notorious for overemphasizing "Don't do this," and "Don't do that," while religion has magnified the horrors of burning brimstone as the fate of erring sinners.

¹In 1901, E. A. Ross called scientific attention to the importance of this general theme in his *Social Control*, but during and since the World War the age-long unscientific understanding of social control again gained momentum.

²A comprehensive bibliography on social control is given by Park and Burgess' *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 864-872.

³One of the chief merits of psychoanalysis has been its portrayal of the evils of repression and its emphasis on stimulations of the constructive type.

Repressive control is illustrated when a group hurls opprobrious names at individuals who veer away from group standards. Heretic, shyster, quitter, boner, knocker, tom-boy, sissy, fraidy-cat, renegade, traitor, bolshevik—these terms act as negative social pressures. The immigrant often staggers under a heavy burden of negative controls, as shown by disheartening epithets, such as dago, hunkie, sheeny, chink, wop. The look of scorn cast by the débute upon the hard-working daughter of the farm or factory is withering; the haughty "once over" which the millionaire's chauffeur gives the humble owner of a Ford is ostracising. Silk gloves sneer at "horny hands;" power tramples on weakness.

It was once necessary for groups to give negative pressures precedence over constructive controls. When fang and hoof ruled, groups had to protect their members against enemy groups. It was imperative that they supervise their members with rods of iron. But as social evolution unfolds and social knowledge and vision develop, positive controls may be substituted for negative ones. Habit, however, both personal and social, persists in the maintenance of negative pressures long after the need for them has passed away, in fact, even when they are clearly harmful and destructive. Hence, we find that careful scrutiny of a situation will show how wrong conduct may be produced by the application of a negative control. If a child acts badly, that action proves at least that he possesses energy which is seeking an outlet, and since that energy has been dammed up, it either breaks through the dam or goes over the banks at some weak place, causing harm to the individual himself or to others. When an adult commits a crime that act implies the presence of misdirected energy—energy that might have been expressed wholesomely if constructive stimuli had been functioning. When society shuts up a criminal in a dark, ill-ventilated jail, feeds him

poorly, isolates him, his energy naturally turns into brooding, and automatically produces a sense of injustice and "bolshhevistic" reactions. Although negative controls will always be essential their blind and conventional usage creates more evil than good. An underlying law of social control is that *the more nearly social justice is obtained, the less will be the need for negative social pressures.*

Constructive stimulation in itself makes repression unnecessary. Energies when put to constructive ends are not available for harmful activities. Routine but necessary tasks when translated into "projects" full of foci of interest are sought rather than shunned, and discipline is not sacrificed but achieved through rigorous activity even though negative rules are put into the background. Constructive group control may now be defined as *a process of stimulating personal energy in socially wholesome ways.*⁴

Parents become play directors for their children and the need for formal discipline diminishes. Cities establish recreation parks, and playgrounds and delinquency in the given neighborhoods diminishes. Schools provide special activities for obstreperous boys and the truancy rate falls. Manufacturing concerns give employees management responsibilities and opportunities for creativeness in their work, and social unrest subsides. Hence, through constructive controls, a group gains in three ways; first, anti-group activities are reduced; second, the personalities of the members are socialized; and third, group as well as personal morale is strengthened.

Although constructive group control has been exercised by awarding honors, degrees, prizes, these have usually made an appeal to only the few. Society needs to institute procedure on a universal scale for stimulating everyone to achieve his best. Despite the strides made in this

⁴Thus it will be seen that constructive group control is one of the main techniques of socialization.

direction by popular education, the masses are greatly hampered by lack of broad social vision and of creative opportunities. Although groups have developed a "hero" terminology as a means of stimulation, yet it is far less extensive than "traitor" and "heretic" nomenclatures. Although constructive controls rely on *hope* rather than *fear*, yet hope is far less effective than fear in determining behavior, and hence, there is need for the development of techniques as auxiliaries to hope and for making hope more forceful than fear. There is urgent demand, therefore, for all groups to give persistent and wholesale attention to the processes of personal stimulation.

Constructive group control seeks to discover the underlying principles of both personal and social progress, of the development of personality through social interaction, and of social justice. In accordance with these principles it will work out tentative procedures and patterns of behavior. By educational processes it stimulates individuals, even from the youngest to the oldest, to adopt, and to improve upon these social behavior patterns. It will strive to change anti-group impulses into socialized habits,⁵ to subordinate standards of individual pecuniary success and power to social welfare behavior, to translate egoistic desires into socialized attitudes.

Constructive group control will subordinate the interests of the specific group to those of the larger whole, of "blocs" to national welfare; of nationalism to world community spirit; of "denominationalism" to human service; of factionalism to community needs. It will never repress honest criticism. It will formulate ideals, group ideals, world community ideals, and make them so attractive that all mankind will be drawn toward them.

The greatest enemy of constructive group control is

⁵See Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (Holt, 1922), Parts One and Two, for an analysis of the process of changing impulses into habits.

group selfishness. No matter how helpful a social attitude may be engendered within a group, for example, within a national group toward fellow citizens, that group may still hold a selfish, arrogant, and domineering attitude toward other peoples. A high degree of social education had been developed in Germany by 1914, but dominated by hyper-nationalism slogans. Ruthless invasion, however, of Belgium, and wanton debauching of France occurred—in the name of a German determined program of world control. The world, however, will be safe only when a world-group procedure is rationally and sociologically worked out—in which every nation group has a free voice “according to the intelligence and public spirit of its members,” but in which no one group should dominate.⁶

Constructive group control will provide all individuals with full opportunities for creative effort,⁷ for forming socialized habits, and for assuming social responsibility. It will stimulate initiative, invention, and leadership. If it cannot turn routine tasks into projects replete with points of interest, it will invent machinery. At any rate it will not allow human energies to be drugged by routine tasks, but will deliberately direct them into activities full of problem-solving activities. It will draw out rather than jam down; stimulate rather than smother. It will make life's opportunities for the average individual so many and so socially helpful that all will feel the thrill of the abundant life of unselfish service, develop fully their inherent social nature, and find their greatest satisfaction in creating wholesome opportunities for human personalities.

⁶See the chapter on “The Principle of Balance,” Ch. LXII, by E. A. Ross in his *Principles of Sociology* (Century, 1920).

⁷See Ward's discussion of “Meliorism,” (*Psychic Factors in Civilization*, Ch. XXXIV); and his treatment of “Opportunity,” (*Applied Sociology*, Ch. IX).

Book Notes

CONSTANTINOPLE TODAY, or THE PATHFINDER SURVEY OF CONSTANTINOPLE: *A Study in Oriental Social Life*. By CLARENCE RICHARD JOHNSON, M. A. The Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xi+418.

This survey is significant not so much on account of the results attained and the methods employed, but because "it represents a forward movement on the part of American philanthropic workers in foreign countries to know better the people among whom they are working." Out of chaos itself this survey has brought forth a mass of organized data on several outstanding problems. The topics treated are: Historical Setting, Civic Administration, Community Organization, Some Phases of Industrial Life, Refugees, Orphanages, Recreation, Widowhood, Adult Delinquency, and The Native Schools. When we are informed that no careful census has ever been taken of Constantinople, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to realize the importance of this study. It was no small undertaking to survey an uncharted city with a population near the million mark. There were many difficulties to contend with such as the great diversity of languages, nationalities, and other conditions. Here East meets West; the camel and the Ford are found side by side. Despite the fact that the citizens have been divided by various conflicting interests, the survey met with a kindly reception and had the active support of the different communities. It soon became evident that the work of the survey was helping to awaken a sense of common needs.

The report would have been more interesting to the social technologist had more information been given relative to the methods employed, and if some general conclusions or interpretations had been included.

W. C. S.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY. By LLEWELLEN MACGARR. Macmillan Company, pp. xiii+239.

This treatise is a handbook of nine chapters on an analysis of rural life, rural surveys, rural educational, economic and social forces. It will be of value to rural teachers, preachers, and other leaders.

ADVENTURES IN SOCIAL WELFARE. By ALEXANDER JOHNSON. Published by the author at Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1923, pp. ix+455.

In his remarkably successful experiences of forty years as a social worker Mr. Johnson's achievements furnish many a splendid object lesson to the beginning worker in the field. As an executive for a State Board of Charities, a superintendent of an institution for the feeble-minded, the secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, a lecturer in training schools for social workers, as a Red Cross Home Service worker, and as a public lecturer on social problems, Mr. Johnson is almost without a peer in the variety of important practical angles from which he has experienced social work as a profession. Through all the forty years he has maintained a youthfulness of spirit, a wholesomeness of attitude, a sense of humor, a willingness to revise his thinking that is truly remarkable. This autobiography which sparkles with wit is shot through and through with common sense and helpful suggestions that are generic and far-reaching in their applications to life. The warm humanism of the author vibrates from every page.

E. S. B.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND POLITICS. By CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT and NETTIE R. SHULER. Scribner's Sons, 1923, pp. xii +504.

In clear-cut fashion the authors describe the woman's suffrage movement in the United States step by step from its inception nearly a century ago until its successful culmination in 1920, outlining in detail the defeats and successes as they came. The student of social movements will find this volume full of valuable source materials. Attention is called to the fact that although America's history and her principles gave promise that she would be one of the first countries to give women the vote the movement had to be carried forward decade after decade, although twenty-six other countries were giving the vote to the women while the United States delayed. The authors pile up evidence on evidence showing that this delay was not due to an antagonistic or even uneducated or indifferent public sentiment, but to "the thwarting of public sentiment through the trading and the trickery, the buying and the selling of American politics." Suffrage was fought by "politics" by both great political parties to their shame and disgrace.

E. S. B.

LABOR AND POLITICS. By MOLLIE RAY CARROLL, Goucher College, Hart, Shaffner & Marx Prize Essays in Economics. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923, pp. xix+206.

A thoughtful exposition of the activities of the American Federation of Labor as they can be traced in national politics throughout a history of more than forty years. In the author's opinion, the success attained by the Federation has been to a great extent the result of a concept of social psychology which recognized individual differences within the labor group on other than industrial questions. It was therefore the part of wisdom to ask from the state for machinery to aid in the solution of labor problems, rather than to form a party which would have to shape policies on other matters. Contrary to the current impression, it is shown that the Federation has consistently opposed legislation for the control of industrial relations, asking rather for freedom in collective bargaining and trusting to such impartial sources as the engineering report on "Waste in Industry" to free it from the onus of the present situation. Labor's distrust of the judiciary arm of government is another manifestation of the workingman's psychology; he believes that judges never get his point of view. The author concludes that the policy of controlling legislation through the reward of friends and punishment of enemies has been one of wisdom, but suggests that a more constructive program must develop if the Federation is to regain its pre-war prestige and become the force which British trade unionism is today.

I. L. P.

HUMAN NATURE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. By CHARLES H. COOLEY. Second Edition. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923, pp. x+460.

In this revised edition of an authoritative work in social psychology, the author has added an introduction on the place of heredity and instinct in human life, a series of study questions for each chapter, and other materials. In the new part Dr. Cooley uses the term "instinctive emotional dispositions." By an instinctive disposition he means in a large sense a tendency "to compare, combine, and organize the activities of the mind." Among the leading instinctive emotions of social import he mentions five: the dispositions to anger, to fear, to maternal love, to male and female sexual love, and to be self-assertive and seek power. The superior value of this book requires no comment here.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By R. H. GAULT. Henry Holt & Co., 1923, pp. x+336.

The author defines social psychology specifically as treating of "the reactions of members of the human race one to another." In the opening chapter Dr. Gault takes an advanced stand, giving to social psychology a distinct viewpoint and subject matter, but in later chapters he seems to conceive social psychology largely in terms of applied psychology and a psychology of mental ability.

In regard to instincts the author states that their existence is purely hypothetical but points out that there is instinctive behavior in the sense of generalized tendencies. Suggestibility is referred to as that organic condition "in which one or another determining tendency or disposition may express itself with relative freedom." The essence of the socialization process is found in the fact that "we are all responding to similar situations so that in course of time each is able to represent the others." While not a complete analysis of the processes of mental interaction this book makes valuable contributions to the field.

E. S. B.

AMERICAN PROBLEMS. By MOREHOUSE and GRAHAM. Ginn & Co., 1923, pp. xii+567+XXX.

In a well-written book of twenty chapters the authors have attempted to unite "the essentials of the more important of the social sciences in one subject," as a text for high school students. After giving a brief historical background, the authors consider economic problems, such as production, trusts, taxation; social problems, such as poverty and crime; and conclude with chapters on citizenship, democracy, and foreign relationships. While one may not agree with the selection of topics that has been made, he may well praise the emphasis on social relationships and the sane treatment of the various themes.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL THEORY. By JAMES P. LICH-
TENBERGER. Century Company, 1923, pp. xiii+482.

In fifteen chapters the author covers the ground well from Plato to Ratzenhofer. He centers his analyses around the social and sociological theories; he emphasizes outstanding phases of the work of social theorists rather than details. He selects prominent social theorists rather than giving attention to all; he uses the historical

and descriptive method rather than the critical. A strong phase of the book is the historical setting which is given for the respective social theories. Many short pertinent quotations are given from the specific leaders, while at the close of the chapters appear evaluative statements from representative critics as well as a bibliography and topics for critical study. Two additional chapters would enhance the value of the book, one dealing with the origins of social theory preceding the profound system of Plato's, and another at the close of the book, treating of the larger meanings of the materials presented in the foregoing chapters. Judged by the conditions which Dr. Lichtenberger has noted in the Preface, he has made a splendid contribution to sociological theory.

E S. B.

WOMEN IN THE FACTORY. By ADELAIDE MARY ANDERSON.
E. P. Dutton & Company, 1922, pp. xi+316.

Still another indictment against the factory system operated under the influences of an acquisitive society is brought forth in this interesting account of the Women Inspectorate of Factories and Workshops in Great Britain. The author, Principal Lady Inspector of Factories for twenty-four years, 1897-1921, tells of her struggles to eliminate the hardships and sufferings of women workers in the factories of Great Britain and Ireland. One continually wonders when reading such accounts as these why man so readily agrees to exploit his fellow man to a degree approaching utter degradation. Here is revealed the same struggle to obtain better hours, wages and conditions of work so familiar to students of American industrial conditions. It is reviving, however, to note that the struggle is not a losing one. In the British movement one cannot help but feel that the finely humanitarian and unselfish social spirit of Dame Anderson was in great part responsible for the progress made.

M. J. V.

THE BURDEN OF UNEMPLOYMENT: *A Study of Unemployment Relief Measures in Fifteen American Cities.* By PHILIP KLEIN. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1923, pp. 260.

Within recent years there have been four seasons of general business depression: 1893-94, 1907-08, 1914-15, and 1920-22. In spite of the frequency and gravity of these periods, little practical knowledge gained by the social agencies upon whom the burden of relief in their respective communities fell has been published. This volume

is an attempt to analyze the experience of social agencies and special committees working on the problem of relief for the unemployed during 1920-22. It reports a comparative study of fifteen representative urban communities. There were held 249 interviews with individuals and fifteen conferences with social workers while full use was made of the office records of the societies involved. The conclusions reached by the investigation are summarized in twenty recommendations contained in the last chapter of the volume. No attempt is made to discuss the prevention of unemployment; the study is restricted to the problem of relief.

C. E. R.

THE HOBO. By NELS ANDERSON. University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. xv+302.

In the preface Robert E. Park points out that this book is the first of "a series of studies of the urban community and of city life." The book is especially significant because of the methods that were used. It does not treat the hobo problem in Chicago as a particular and local phenomenon but in its generic and universal aspects. "Hobohemia" in Chicago is considered in relation to the city and its life; and this study succeeds in contributing to our permanent scientific knowledge of "the city as a communal type." The study is made in part on the bases of about sixty life histories of hoboes, and shows how the hobo is in part the product of the social environment which he has created for himself in the larger city. Not the least important phase of this book is the carefully worked out programs, city and national, for solving the problems which create and which are created by hobo life.

E. S. B.

SOCIAL WORK IN HOSPITALS. By IDA M. CANNON, Chief of Social Service of Massachusetts General Hospital. Russell Sage Foundation, Revised Edition, 1923, pp. 237.

Features emphasized in the revised edition are appreciation of the need of organization in hospitals to effect the integration of hospital social work with medical institutions; of the need of developing an attitude that medical social work is a component part of organized medicine. The chapters on "Medical Social Problems" are reorganized and improved. Three hundred new departments of hospital social service have been established since the first publication of this book.

I. G. W.

THE KAREN PEOPLE OF BURMA: *A Study in Anthropology and Ethnology*. By HARRY IGNATIUS MARSHALL, M. A. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1922, pp. xvi+332.

This monograph, from the pen of a missionary who has spent many years among the Karen, presents an interesting study of a backward group in British Burma. The work bears the earmarks of careful observation and scholarly investigation. "The behavior of the individual," writes Marshall, "must be regarded in the light of the life and customs of the group to which he belongs." This attitude of fairness runs throughout the entire discussion. The author has shown the process of acculturation which has taken place as the Karen have come in contact with the Burmese and as they have come under the influence of Christianity and modern education. Several instances have been brought out which illustrate that the contacts with the advanced group have not always been for the better. This study shows how some of the Karen characteristics, which are practically considered racial traits, have developed out of certain social situations.

W.C.S.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK. By JAMES H. TUFTS. Russell Sage Foundation, 1923, pp. xii+240.

This book is designed for the teacher and supervisor of young people desiring to become social workers rather than for would-be social workers themselves as the title might imply. Dr. Tufts has made a comprehensive study of the field of social work and discusses vital questions concerning it. The central fields of social work he finds in the care of children who are not properly looked after in their own homes, the care of families in need, and in the social interests of communities. Social work as a profession for men is apt to receive increasing attention, especially on the administrative side. The intrinsic appeal of social work according to Dr. Tufts is in the opportunities it offers to discover the trends and needs of human society. Throughout the book the discussion is stimulative and fundamental.

E. S. B.

HUMAN AUSTRALASIA. By CHARLES F. THWING. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. 270.

President Thwing brings to bear his ripe judgment and keen powers of observations in the thirteen chapters of this work upon the industrial, educational, religious, and literary standards of the people

of Australia and New Zealand. "The final outposts of Anglo-Saxon civilization" is examined with friendly but critical eyes. The book is chiefly descriptive and informational although at times analytical and comparative. Dr. Thwing finds in Australasia much that is materialistic and crude, and yet maintains confidence and faith in these lands with their Nordic peoples; he looks somewhat askance at the socialistic experiments in these islands. He finds his chief hope in the universities and particularly in education.

THE PROBLEMS OF POPULATION. By HAROLD COX, editor, Edinburgh Review. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923, pp. ix+244.

Population is examined in the light of human welfare and a rather rigid attitude is taken regarding population increase. "The different races of the world must either agree to restrain their powers of increase, or must prepare to fight one another." In any large population the author finds that "a low birth rate is a necessary condition of racial or social progress." He protests against the reckless production of children and urges that women protect themselves against giving birth to children "who are born only to be buried." The author feels deeply but exercises fine restraint in the expression of his attitudes. While mere limitation of birth rate will not guarantee progress, yet it is doubtless true that people, especially of the poorer classes need to be trained to take a scientific attitude toward all the problems centering about birth rate.

E. S. B.

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN. By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL. Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xii+378.

The author attempts to diagnose the tendencies and problems in the present transition period through which women as members of society are passing. Educate woman in a broad understanding of life, train her in knowledge of the problems of family, and the home beautiful, and then leave her free in working out a career within or outside a home of her own, says the author. Co-education is strongly supported, and the necessity of combining liberal and vocational training for all women is urged. The physical and recreational training of girls and women needs emphasis. The breaking down of the idea of "woman's sphere" is not viewed fearfully. Let women be trained according to their individual needs to fill a large and useful part in all phases of life, concludes Dr. Goodsell, in this thoughtful and dispassionate treatise.

E. S. B.

Periodical Notes

The Problem of Divorce. The problem of divorce can best be met by the strengthening of marriage as an institution, and not by the prohibition of divorce or by laws which discriminate between the sexes. The family lies at the root of all that is best in the State, and its existence should be protected by just, equal, and humane laws. Frances Balfour, *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1923, 386-392.

Societal Variables. Changeable factors of natural phenomena are known to science as variables. In the science of sociology, we deal with two variables, those of organism and environment. The working out of these variables may be seen by tracing the development of life from metazoa to human beings. It is the aim of a scientific study of sociology to learn more about these variables and their products. Franklin H. Giddings, *Jour. of Social Forces*, May, 1923, 345-350.

Some Anti-Militarist Fallacies. The anti-militarists, who are so vigorous in their attacks upon war, fail to realize that the horrors of war are not comparable to the horrors of peace, and that war is a result of evil conditions in society, rather than a cause. The only way to get rid of war is to eliminate the desire for personal gain which builds up an intolerable social order. G. R. Stirling Taylor, *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1923, 633-641.

A Sociological Interpretation of the New Ku Klux Movement. The Ku Klux Klan is the product of certain social phenomena such as the World War, the breakdown of religious authority, the disintegration of the home, etc. It is supported by people who fear anything which resembles an attack upon the established social order, and who, since they do not stop to think the problem through, resort to force to defend their traditions. Guy B. Johnson, *Jour. of Social Forces*, May, 1923, 440-445.

The Future for Unemployment Insurance. No general relief of the unemployment problem can be anticipated except through state action or the pressure of trade unions. Although the individual efforts on the part of employers to solve the problem are to be encouraged, they necessarily involve difficulties which make such a solution impossible. It will probably be some time before the unemployment legislation goes beyond the remedial stage to the preventive. Leo Wolman, *American Labor Legislation Review*, March, 1923, 39-45.

The South Buries its Anglo-Saxons. The South is losing much that might be contributed to the richness of her life, because of the paternalistic attitude of her mill-owners. A resident worker in a mill village is completely isolated from the rest of the world, and since he is practically owned, and all of his activities directed by the mill owner, he soon loses all initiative and independence. Frank Tannenbaum, *Century*, June, 1923, 205-215.

Industrial Responsibility for Unemployment. We must depend upon industry and not the state to care for the unemployment problem. This solution can only be reached through unselfish cooperation between the employer and the employee for the benefit of all concerned. It seems that the trade union is the agency which can handle the mechanical side of the work most efficiently. D. C. McLagan, *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1923, 816-827.

The Miasma of Divorce. There is agitation in England today regarding the question as to whether or not newspapers should be allowed to publish details of divorce cases. It is the judgment of many that such publicity increases divorce. A government act is necessary, for unless all papers were forced to exclude such reports, those doing so would suffer heavy loss. Willoughby Dewar, *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1923, 642-651.

What Is the Case Worker Really Doing? There is danger that the case worker may, in his absorption in the petty and individual needs of his subject, lose sight of the actual aim toward which he should be working, which is the larger relationships which influence the individual, and in which he must be taught to live effectively. Ada E. Sheffield, *Jour. of Social Forces*, May, 1923, 362-366.

Communities, Associate and Federate. A community does not necessarily involve face-to-face contacts. There are large national communities of activity which are quite impersonal and mechanical. It is the task of the present order to combine the fellowship of the smaller group with the efficiency of the larger, and to prepare the rising generation to function effectively in the larger communities. David Snedden, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, May, 1923, 681-693.

The Study of the Delinquent as a Person. The basic fact to an understanding and control of the behavior of the criminal seems to be that the law-breaker is a person, that is, an individual who stands in certain relations to other people, and who is greatly influenced by his life in the group. E. W. Burgess, *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, May, 1923, 657-680.

